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which is not by politicians are for the people, and are destined to find lodgment in the people's eyes.

It is stated that 20,572 persons perished in the hands of homicides in the United States during the five years ending with 1900.

Also a fever of our capitalist system.

Education and organization in every school township is what is wanted. Every reader of The Herald should make systematic propaganda for the people and also organize a branch of the party if there is none in his vicinity.

In Rhode Island 81.2 per cent. of the population in 1900 lived in cities or towns of 5,000 inhabitants or more, while this amount also constitutes 70 per cent. of the population in Massachusetts, 68.5 per cent. in New York, 61.2 per cent. in New Jersey and 58.2 per cent. in Connecticut. No wonder the Socialists of these states care little for the farmers and for a farmer's programme. But these states form only a small fraction of this great country.

One minister of the gospel, Rev. Dr. W. H. W. of Oyster Bay, has had the good sense amid a tempest of anarchism to talk from the pulpit, to say that "A free press has nothing in common with anarchy, nor is anarchy in any way led by it. Anarchy is the outgrowth of poverty and ignorance. Education is the remedy. It is said to contemplate 60,000 children in New York unable to attend school. It is wrong to class the workmen with Anarchists. They are far apart. There is as much difference between Socialism and anarchy as there is between good and bad. Socialism is the theme of the poet and the philosopher. There should be more justice in our Legislatures, for there are many unjust laws."

There is a decided tendency among a lot of superficial observers to exaggerate the influence exerted by the newspapers. The newspaper is a power, very naturally, and a great power. But even the power of the press is on the decline. The newspapers do not mold public opinion any more; they often only express it. And the truth of the matter is that we have about as good a daily press as we deserve. Just as soon as people will want a better class of daily papers—daily papers that will convey ideas with the news of the day, instead of spreading sensations, scandals or vituperations—and, just as soon as people will be willing to subscribe for better news publications, even though they will get less "paper" for a penny or two—so soon will we have better newspapers. It is the PUBLIC that is to blame, and preachers who have a tendency to sermonize against Hearst, Pulitzer, etc., ought to bear that in mind.

It is officially stated that the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers gave up its right to control the following mills:

The Crescent, Ironville, Chester, Star, Monongahela, DuPont and Monaca mills of the American Tinplate company. The Canal Dover, Hyde Park, Old Meadow, Saltsburg, Dewees, Wood and Wellsville mills of the American Sheet Steel company; the Painter, McCutcheon & Clark mills of the American Hoop company.

The Joliet and Milwaukee mills of the Federal Steel company. All of the mills of the American Tube company.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers has by this defeat lost more than a third of its membership, which was always rather small—about 15,000 in good standing. But if the members of the Amalgamated learn this lesson that the time for an exclusive and aristocratic trades union has passed, and that labor of every description must unite in order to be able to defeat concentrated capitalism successfully, furthermore, if the members of the Amalgamated learn by this lesson that the economic warfare (the strike and boycott) is insufficient, and that the strongest weapon nowadays is the ballot—then this defeat may turn out to be a blessing in disguise even for the Amalgamated Association.

The treasury is expected to come upon Congress again the coming year for further reductions in the tax rates. During the last session, when the subject of reducing the war taxes was being considered, vigorous efforts were put forth by the representatives of the brew and cigar industries to secure a reduction much below what was finally agreed upon. E. I. du Pont, chairman of the Republican committee of Milwaukee and a representative of the Milwaukee brewers, spent much time in Washington to have the tax reduced.

The present situation of treasury matters, reflecting that further reductions in the tax rates must be made in order to save the treasury surplus and to pay a "consolidation of cash in the treasury" is predicted by those who are familiar with the light which was thrown upon the subject by the sweeping cut in the remainder of the year. We think it is probable that the United States treasury will have to come upon Congress for further reductions in the tax rates. It is likely that a good plan will be adopted to save the treasury surplus and to pay a "consolidation of cash in the treasury."

comes of the rich. This might form a basis for an old-age pension for the workers, and also for a national benefit insurance against want in cases of sickness, old age, etc. But, alas, we are not advanced even as far as that.

Rumors of a revolution in Chicago are the Cleveland speech, which is supposed to have incited murder in the mind of an assassin. One would think that Rumors it should be some or decent would keep quiet after the detestable role she played in this horrible affair. Not so, Rumors. She is found to get all the advertising and "glory" out of that dastardly murder in Buffalo that she possibly can. Which is another proof of the total degeneracy of that woman.

No wonder Anarchists are growing up in this country like weeds. The "ruling" business has become the most farcical business in this country; all a man has to do in order to convince himself of that is to attend a session of the Legislature or a meeting of the common council of Milwaukee. Yet this "ruling" business has become the most expensive business on the face of the earth. It would actually be money in the pockets of the people to pay our members of Congress and of all the state legislatures millions annually to shut up shop, to stay home or go to China. We have a sufficient stock of capitalistic laws on hand to last a long while and we cannot expect a different kind of legislation until the Socialists have acquired sufficient strength to give it to us.

Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Tennessee, has recently been making a study of the influence of education on production, based upon data derived from official reports, the result of which is contained in a simple leaflet that is before us. It is full of meat and although it was designed for Tennessee readers—by way of reminding them of an imperative duty—it should be scattered as far and wide as the leaves of autumn. It is especially worthy of the attention of the housewives in every city, village, hamlet and in country parts throughout the land who contend that the work of education is being overdone and complain of the cost thereof to the taxpayers. This class of people is mostly impressed by the dollar argument and this is why we commend President Dabney's findings to its consideration especially. Here is what he says in part:

The chief characteristic of the Nineteenth century has been the extension of the benefits of education to the masses of the people. Its chief lesson is that education increases the wealth producing power of a people in direct proportion to its distribution and thoroughness. In fact the relations between education and productivity are so well understood now that you can measure the wealth producing power of a people by the school privileges which they have enjoyed. Statistics show, for example, that the power of the people of the different states to earn money is in direct proportion to the length of the period the average citizen of each has attended school—Appleton Post.

All well and good—the money earning power of people may be in direct proportion to the length of the period the average citizen has attended school. Yet, the money getting power has not been in the same proportion; there is a strong tendency towards a "learned" proletariat all over the United States. Still, we Socialists would a thousand times rather have an educated proletariat than an illiterate one, for the chances are that a mass composed of men with a good education will understand the faults of the present system and also see the remedy. The Socialists the world over are in favor of as much education as can possibly be gotten.

A Paris dispatch tells us with a horrified air that the Socialistic Illustrated weekly, *Assiette au Beurre*, which means "butterplate," in a recent number issued a series of illustrations, drawing caricatures and cartoons from the pen of the well-known French artist, Jean Weber, dealing with events of the Trauvauval war which cartoons were violent personal attacks on the late Queen Victoria, King Edward, Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Kitchener. The cartoons are, according to the capitalistic cable dispatch, "of the most shocking description" and set the boulevardiers by the ears with amusement.

One picture represents Queen Victoria as burning amid red flames and appealing vainly to Mme. Kruger in heaven for deliverance. Another shows President Kruger washed up naked on the beach and dying, while the monarchs of Europe turn their heads away. Still another caricatures a "monstrous insult" to King Edward and is indescribable, says the dispatch. Others represent emaciated Transvaal women lying in the throes of death, while British soldiers steal their children.

We must confess that we cannot see anything "horrible" or "shocking" in all these. Such scenes are more than conceivable in the face of the British atrocities in South Africa. It is the best condemnation of the plutocracy of the world that makes them tremble over the caricatures of their acts when in the service of the truth. Our last society—including the reformers of the Chicago American and New York Journal type—are constantly talking about the poverty and destitution of the poor children of the slums. Mary White, the French, and the German, etc., are also suffering from poverty, which is not their fault, but which some people would rather make the sign of the cross than the subject of a better than it is. "Poverty" and "destitution."

TO UNDERSTAND THE PARTY NEWS FROM GERMANY.

A cable dispatch of last week has reported that the convention of the Social Democratic party of Germany has caused the famous Socialist writer, Edward Bernstein, severely for his criticism of some of Marx's theories. It seems odd that a man should be censured by the national convention of a great party for daring to point out in a strictly scientific manner some theoretical weaknesses of the theory of a scientist. We must say that this procedure smells more of a church than of a political party. Still Bernstein, who is the present theoretical leader of the evolutionary school of socialism in Germany, need not despair. A glance at the past history of his party will prove that he is certain to win.

In Germany there have been two opposite principles in the Socialist movement from of old—i. e., the political-revolutionary, the inheritance of the French and German revolutions of 1830 and 1848; and the economic-evolutionary principle, the best legacy of Karl Marx to his followers.

During the youth of the party, especially in the '60s and '70s of the Nineteenth century, the "revolutionary" principle was in the ascendant. Most of the German Socialists had taken some part in the bloody struggles of 1848, and had seen for themselves how that revolution, through the fault of the bourgeoisie, had suddenly stopped in its triumphal career and had fallen powerless without accomplishing its aim.

To them the duty of Social Democracy was this: The awakened proletariat must finish the uncompleted work of the bourgeoisie, and win democracy, freedom and equality for Germany, but at the same time it must take one long and decisive step forward and unite economic to political emancipation—to give the people bread besides self-government. Therefore besides democratic political constitution it must establish the socialistic system. The economic as well as the political aim of the party should be attained, if possible, by one single revolutionary exploit.

This policy was changed to some extent in the time of the anti-Socialist law, which was a "creation" of Bismarck. While this law no doubt helped the growth of the Social Democratic party in Germany in many ways, yet the twelve years of oppression also called the attention of the Social Democracy in the most impressive manner to the power of the ruling class and to the fact that the prevailing economic institutions were infinitely stronger than they had been given credit for in the propaganda. People were OBLIGED to SPEAK; they had overlooked before, that the present system of society was far too full of vitality and too strong to be abolished by one single revolutionary exploit. It was brought home to them that it was not only impossible to bring about a complete and thorough economic and political transformation at one blow, but that any revolutionary attempt at present would be madness. Accordingly, under the Anti-Socialist law what might be called "a waiting policy" was gradually formed among the thinking members of the German party, in opposition to the vulgar revolutionary principle. They said that a Socialist revolution meant the REVOLUTIONIZING OF THE HEARTS AND HEADS OF THE PEOPLE, by means of oral and written propaganda, while at the same time they calmly pointed to a future day of reckoning, to the great final overthrow of the present system as unavoidable according to its own development.

Thus the economic-evolutionary principle came more and more into favor. Social Democrats even became somewhat fatalistic and trusted to the development of economic conditions, which of themselves, without any interference of the party, would go the way which Karl Marx had traced out for them in great prophetic strokes. That is, that the ever increasing concentration of all business would go on until all wealth and all economic and political power should be concentrated in a few hands, at which point of development the transfer of all business, all wealth and power, to the hands of the great propertyless mass, collectively—in other words, the rise of the Socialist society would be comparatively rapid and easy.

This, which might well be called the PASSIVE theory of Socialist evolution, was held by the great majority of our German comrades along with the revolutionary theory, towards the close of the period of the anti-Socialist law.

After the repeal of the anti-Socialist law in 1890 it was seen how little these two principles were connected. Three fundamentally different views in regard to the future tactics of the party at once made their appearance.

One faction in Berlin—not a very large one—regarded the repeal of the anti-Socialist law as a confession of weakness and defeat on the part of the ruling classes. To this faction the political situation was the same as it was before 1878, only with far more favorable conditions. Accordingly it demanded that the old tactics of the party should be renewed with redoubled energy. That is, that the so-called revolutionary principle should again be authoritatively placed in the foreground. These were the so-called "Jungen" ("Young Men"), led by Wildberger and Werner.

Another group, with Georg von Vollmar at their head, represented the opposite principle, the economic-evolutionary, but no longer merely in its passive acceptance, as had been the case under the anti-Socialist law, but as a continuation of this theory in an ACTIVE sense. That is, Vollmar declared: "The twelve years of the anti-Socialist law have cured us forever of laying the chief stress on the so-called revolutionary principle of the early day, and the interpretation which has been put upon it of late has completely robbed it of its true significance." He said: "Since we claim that we desire only the revolutionizing of men's minds, we must lay all stress to point out the economical evolution of the capitalist system. We also must use all the influence and power we possess to so affect the economical and political development of affairs that it will benefit the working class as much as possible today and strengthen it in every way. Yet, at the same time, we must continually take steps forward to our ultimate economical goal, to the emancipation of the working class; the abolition of wage labor and the establishment of the Socialistic system.

Accordingly, without disavowing our "final goal," the "co-operative commonwealth," we must make present practical political work our strong point, and only by this means, step by step, can we approach our ideal.

In two meetings at Munich, Comrade Vollmar presented "five demands" which should be realized first. They were: More legislation and more protection for laboring men and their families; the right of free association of workmen; no state or police interference in struggles between employees and workmen; new legislation in regard to industrial contracts, and the abolition of all taxes on the necessities of life.

The third and numerically by far the strongest group, behind which stood the masses of the party, occupied the middle ground between the two factions just described, and was led by Liebknecht, Singer and Bebel. Their policy was the same as held away toward the close of the period under the anti-Socialist law. They emphasized as before the "revolutionary" principle, but contrasted the word as meaning a "revolutionizing of men's minds only." They counted, of course, on the overthrow of the powers that be, and promised a "day of reckoning," yet, with these rulers it lay to decide whether that day should pass with or without bloodshed. They held fast to the idea described above of the elimination of capitalist concentration on one hand and an increasing growth of the proletariat on the other; while at the same time they stood for taking an energetic part in parliamentary work, not only for purposes of agitation, but also in order to obtain economical and political advantages for the working class.

These three factions within the Social Democratic party of Germany at once sharply antagonized each other.

Wildberger and Werner accused Liebknecht and Bebel, and they in turn accused Vollmar, of simple "opportunism," of renouncing the "final aim" of Socialism, and of corrupting the party with "petty bourgeois ideas." It came to a clash in the convention at Halle in 1890 and Erfurt in 1891; Werner and Wildberger were defeated and expelled. They withdrew from the ranks of Socialists and joined the Anarchists. With them the old unadulterated "revolutionary" principle in the German party was subdued forever. In this victory of Liebknecht and Bebel over their opponents the party had taken a distinct step forward. This appeared in the adjustment of the dispute with Vollmar. After a statement from him that he did not renounce "das Endziel," the "final aim" of Socialism, and in reality did not even wish to introduce any new tactics, he and the principle represented by him remained in the party.

In 1895 the same discussion in regard to tactics and also essential principles arose between Bebel, Liebknecht and Amn on one side, and Legien, the leader of the labor union movement, on the other. The point at issue this time was the importance of the labor union, and their greater independence, from the Social Democratic party, for to Germany the trade unions (Gewerkschaften) were already looked upon as something separate from the party at that time. Legien insisted on the "co-operation" somewhat after the English labor union movement.

This again was a step towards strengthening or what may be called the practical reform tendency. Again it turned out as before. The subject was thoroughly discussed at the convention in Erfurt, and the labor union movement in Germany has been ever since separated from the Social Democratic party and

In answer to a question: I don't believe Sam Gompers, the president of the American Federation, is dishonest. He is surely not dishonest in the vulgar sense of the word. Yet his influence is very mischievous to the cause of progress and of organized labor. Gompers is simply another illustration that "honesty," that is the common business honesty, is not the only essential qualification in a leader. Foresight, large views and energy are each just as essential. Now, Gompers has none of these. He is narrow, timid and vain. He likes to play the "big man" and be praised by the capitalistic papers as a "conservative leader." In reality he has little or nothing to lead. Each trade is absolutely independent and a few straggling "Federal Unions" are about the only bodies in the large army of labor which Mr. Gompers really commands. But instead of admitting the weakness of the American Federation of Labor as far as actual work is concerned, he talks in a grandiloquent way of the 600,000 organized workmen of which his army consists. No wonder he is in hot water every time anybody expects any results from his grand talk, which under the conditions can be nothing but bluff and bluster.

The Coal Miners and Socialism.

Laurence Gronlund once said in a magazine article that one day a great labor statistician in Washington (Gronlund does not mention the name) unbosomed himself for the first time on the subject of Socialism in this wise: "I am opposed to Socialism, because I do not want to be ordered down into a coal mine. To have to dig for coal is something I would never consent to. No, I would not do it. I would rather die. Yes, if that day should ever come, I certainly shall commit suicide."

Our great labor statistician in Washington at that time still believed that the socialist state would be a great and general penitentiary where everybody would be "commanded" to do a certain kind of work and as a rule would be compelled to do just the kind of work that he did not want to do. He knows better now. He knows that under a socialist system everybody will do the useful work he wants or the useful work for which he is best adapted. Compensation and working hours can be arranged in such a manner that even disagreeable labor will find lovers, besides the most dangerous and most disagreeable work will either be stopped or done by machinery. Many of the products now gotten in a most crude and barbarous way—human life is cheap—will be either produced with the help of elaborate machinery, or replaced entirely by new inventions. No doubt, coal will be used in infinitely smaller quantities, after the power of rivers, waterfalls and especially of the ocean tides have been harnessed, and with the help of electricity transmitted all over the country.

But then, we do not intend to bother our brains with these matters; our children and grand children will be fully able to cope with them.

Speaking of coal miners—there, indeed, any other calling that should make men as easily rebellious against our famous industrial system as that of coal-mining? Is there another cause—except perhaps that of woman—so fit to excite the sympathy of good men and welcome Socialism as that of the coal miner? Think of the life he must live, day in and day out, to procure for others the gratification of warm and lighted homes! Early in the morning—in the winter before the sun rises—he must go down into the bowels of the earth and spend eight or more hours in a dark, damp narrow hole, where he works either stooping, or on his knees, or on his side, or, actually, on his back, while chipping the coal; in winter not leaving that hole until after the sun is down, so that during a large part of the year he does not see the sun at all except on Sundays! He is daily exposed to the most imminent danger to life and limb, and all for a mere pittance—often starving—making out a miserable living at best, while a few fellow-men get rich and insolent by his work. Alas, the coal miner surely has food for thought and he certainly ought to be a Socialist.

Who will push the propaganda among the coal miners?

The report from Manila of an engagement between Philippine insurgents and a company of the Ninth Infantry, in which the Americans were surprised and overwhelmed by a superior force, killing forty-eight killed, besides a number of wounded, comes as a shock to the American people, who had been led to believe that the war was over. But then there are the little unpleasantnesses of imperialism to which we will have to get accustomed. As long as we are willing to carry on a war in order to have the cheap cotton goods of our Eastern and Southern manufacturers sold on the island of Samoa we must not be surprised if we get more war than we bargained for.

Abraham Isaak, the editor of a Chicago Anarchist paper, has reported to the Chicago police that a silver watch is missing from his house. Just why Isaak, who believes that government is unnecessary and an imposition upon mankind, should object to the appreciation of his watch, is not altogether plain.—Milwaukee News.

And that is not the worst inconsistency of Anarchists by a long way. The worst is that they ask supreme autonomy for every individual and at the same time call themselves communistic Anarchists,—that they want to abolish all private ownership, and at the same time make such private ownership the cornerstone of their system. Anarchism may be defined as the individualism of the present day gone crazy.

In regard to the trust question, it may be predicted with reasonable assurance of accuracy that the officials of the department of justice will have ready when Congress meets some important recommendations for legislation bearing upon the latest form of combinations in industry, of which the gigantic steel corporation is the most illustrious example. It was doubted by Republican leaders in the last Congress if the measures then pending afforded the best means for correcting the abuses which might grow out of these points into consideration, and knowing the forceful and direct way in which President Roosevelt will set forth his views on these subjects in his first message to Congress, the political leaders here expect to see Congress have before it an early day in the session plans for meeting these most important issues of the times.—Dispatch from Washington.

Oh, yes, President Roosevelt "in his forceful and direct way" will set forth his views on this subject. Yet no trust in the country fears the least trouble on account of "strenuous" Teddy.

If the question must be discussed what causes and elements are working into the hands of anarchism we do not hesitate a moment to denounce the "New York Sun" and its followers as the most dangerous of these elements. Their nauseating cynicism, their derision of all noble sentiments, their support of all most corrupted elements, now on this side and now on the other, their continuous performance in vilifying workmen on the one hand and their unlimited advocacy of capitalism, based on the principle of "might is right," on the other—these are methods of warfare which, allied to calumny, distortion of the truth, and even barefaced untruthfulness, breed hatred among the classes, act as irritants, and conjure up BLIND FURY against their own pompous insolence. We are convinced that a single one of these contemptible articles on the problems of labor, as they are to be found frequently in the "Sun," does more mischief than all the stuff, thus sharply criticized by the "Sun," that other papers are emitting for the "benefit of anarchism."—N. Y. Staats-Zeitung (Dem.).

The interstate commerce commission has issued its railway statistics for the year ending June 30, 1901. Out of the mass of figures the fact stands out in bold relief that the ratio of employees killed and wounded to pile up profits for the Anarchistic magnates is steadily increasing. In 1898 there were 1963 employees killed and 31,761 injured. In 1899 the figures rose to 2210 killed and 34,923 injured. In 1901 they reached the frightful total of 2550 killed and 39,643 injured. True, there was also an increase of employees during these years, but including those the figures can be reduced to this plain result: In 1898 out of every 28 employees one was injured, and out of every 447 one was killed. In 1899 one was injured in every 27 employees, and one killed in every 430. In 1901 one was injured in every 20, and the ratio of killed was one out of 150.

In 1894 the discussion thundered around Vollmar once more. He and his Bavarian comrades voted for the budget, schools, armory and all, i. e., they had supported the government in the Bavarian Landtag on the main question. In the Partei-Tag (convention) Vollmar came off second best; and as far as we know, the approval of the government budget was never repeated by the Bavarian Socialists.

Nevertheless, the practical evolutionary theory remained in the party, and in 1895 it almost had a majority on the much-discussed question of the "agrarian programme." It was a hard proposition. The committee's report, suited nobody and was finally rejected. The majority sided with Liebknecht and against Bebel; still, the positive Socialist-evolutionary tendency had taken a long step forward. In 1896 the strife quieted down, only to be renewed afterwards with redoubled energy, which is increasing to this day. The fight no longer is carried on merely around one point; it blows up in all directions. The demands for an agrarian and a farmer's programme are not allowed to rest; participation in the Prussian Landtag elections was sought for and obtained; the better equipment of the army was discussed; and the theory that the "increase of misery" will lead to Socialism has been abandoned entirely. But the most important point is, that the Marxist development theory, which is a purely passive sense had been firmly hammered up to this time and was leading to fatalism, has in 1898 been declared by Edward Bernstein to be wrong. He maintained against some of the older theorists of the party, that all practical work which is in accord with the trend of time and with the needs of the working class is a step towards the "final goal of Socialism," towards the co-operative commonwealth—and that, therefore, all the force of party activity should be put to this work. To have given a clear scientific answer to this proposition is the glory of Edward Bernstein.

